2: Schaden--100 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

462
415
B04
114

/83 cont./

also agree with the shape and the denomination of the carrying baskets in the three subcultures represented in Brazil, with the remark, however, that I never heard the Kayová say pynakú, but always mynakú.

could even be given as a symbol of feminine economic activities. Repeating what has already been ascertained with reference to the women of other tribes, it might be said that the Guaraní woman without her carrying basket is comparable to a soldier without a
462 gun. And it is an important point concerning her dependence in relation to her husband, since the technique of plaiting is part of the masculine culture. Only among the Ñandéva of the Paulista
[184] coast have I observed women making sieves or plaiting the facing (mbopará) of bows intended for sale. The technique of making these facings, by the way, was learned by them through living
[178] with the Mbüá. It should be noted that the industrial production for commerce proceeds in a direction opposite to the original sexual division of labor; among the Mbüá, too, I saw women making embira strings for the bows intended for commerce.

[184] Gathering firewood is a masculine task among the Kayová and Ñandéva, a feminine one among the Mbüá. The preparation of food falls to the woman, except in case of illness or some other impediment. In any case, however, the men know perfectly well, up to the most insignificant details, the secrets of the culinary art.

The traditional tasks of spinning and weaving, insofar as they have been preserved, are an appanage of the woman. Among the
[517] Kayová of the new generation I met women who were somewhat ashamed because they had not yet mastered these techniques. My friend Marçal de Souza, married to a civilized woman, told me that he would promise that his daughters would learn how to make txumbé and other handicrafts. The majority of the women of all the villages also know the art of sewing, and it is rare to see a man handle a needle in order to mend his trousers. /84/ Anything involving personal relations with strangers preferably falls to the male element. The purchases in the nearby village, for example, are made by the men, though sometimes accompanied by the women. /The notes for Ch. V occupy the rest of p. 84 in the original source./

/94 cont./

881 178 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence. Only in the village of Jacareí have I had information that the boy, 881 825 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar, etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani- [868] mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 384 [184] [178] The Mbüá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general. In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor-sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish the practice; he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] [824] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not necessarily done by the flanderú. Any man of the village can perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred, however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old) existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjékóaku, [152] [278] and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coró/ oil (ytxotxim). /95/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously [115] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of [868] his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills -- so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of 881 Pablo Vera of Yroÿsã. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Marcelino 867 Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series 575 of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education"). [115] They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

/95 cont./

881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
#577 drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
[184] the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebra-
[829] tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumĩ-pepỹ, or kunumĩ-piéta, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant
[114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

[756] It is the ñanderú (paĩ) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[561] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver-
[628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

[243] In general the kunumĩ-pepỹ coincides in the respective year with the maize celebration, avatĩ-mongaraĩ (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

2: Schaden--124 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/101 cont./

624 156 • [577] In order to be considered competent, or in order to gain prestige among his subjects, the capitão should be energetic, have permasive power over his comrades, not be given to drunkenness, speak the national idiom, and be skilled and astute in dealing with the Brazilian authorities. Among the Nandéva of Itariri I heard complaints against old Silvino Rufino, whose incapacity was attributed to the "lack of agreement" in the village: he was said not to have the energy or sufficient persuasive power to gather the men to maintain the village road. They accused him of excessive alcoholism, which gave the community a bad name. "Mburuvixá naiporãi, the chief is no good because he drinks a great deal, and his wife too."

622 756 555 In the social structure there is no formal obstacle blocking the access of anyone to either the category of prayer-man or doctor-sorcerer. The status stems from the religious experience of the individual himself, and there is no limitation to the number of doctor-sorcerers. Strictly speaking, every chief of a great-family, or even of an elementary family, can become the doctor-sorcerer of his kindred, so long as he has the vocation for such. Nothing hinders a family from splitting in two, each with its ñanderú, which, incidentally, shows the close relation between the chieftaincy of the family group and the charismatic authority. There is almost no danger of any rivalry among the doctor-sorcerers of a village; the authority of each one goes beyond the ambit of the family group only to that extent that his prestige allows it. His power does not rest on a patent conferred by an official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, but on his religious knowledge, on his ability to foresee the future, in the exercise of practices that drive away misfortunes of the present and prevent those of the future. That is why Pedro Pires said to me: "Mbaekuaá is the prayer-man, for he knows everything."

624 648 177 The situation of the village capitão is quite different. The institution did not originate from within Guaraní culture; it was imposed from outside. Even so, however, nowadays important functions in the life of the group fall to him. The capitão

2: Schaden--131 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

77
121 /10d cont./
on the other hand, are set much more in the emotional sphere, where the individual recognizes his dependence in the face of powers, personal or not, that are superior to him (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./ Having been discussed innumerable times by anthropologists of the most varied orientations, this subject is too general to be taken up again here. Everything is summed up in the possibility of finding theoretically valid criteria of distinction between magic, religion, and morality -- although it is recognized beforehand that we do not have at our disposal satisfactory means of analysis in order to establish the dividing lines in the treatment of concrete material. With reference to the problem, we find particularly promising perspectives in the article by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 1945, as well as in some works by Ed. A. Jensen (1949a, b, 1950).

77
121
577 Why is there always a close relationship between the religious domain and the moral one? Is it because human actions -- good or bad -- are regarded as having a direct influence on human destiny -- happy or unhappy --, an influence that may come about in two ways. First, simply as natural causality: bad actions bring about final disgrace, just as any poisonous substance may cause sickness or death. Or then, in the second place, there may be the idea of actions good or bad (metaphysically), stemming from the free will of the individual; they are judged by a deity, that is to say, considered in relation to certain values.

577 The Guaraní distinguishes good and bad actions, good and bad individuals, but in his original doctrine he does not recognize moral responsibility, except vaguely. The individual is good or bad by nature, as by "fate." There is not really free will, because the "genius," the natural disposition, the innate qualities, oblige him to act in a certain way. A typical

2: Schaden--132 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/108 cont./

577 examplet João Samuel, a Ñandéva of impulsive character (Bananal), explains his violent reactions by reason of the "bad nature" that he says he has, but at the same time he considers himself "a very good person." Human destiny does not depend -- except in more or less manifest cases of acculturation -- on moral attributes; in the strict meaning of the term, there are no sanctions, punishment or condemnation, prize or reward -- what there may be is unhappiness, particularly of the "spirit" or anguêry of those who die from sorcery -- but at the end of everything everybody will meet in the Beyond, except in very special situations. And if there are some who, after death, do not get the good fortune of heaven /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/, because of their antisocial or "reproachable" behavior, it is not their fault, but that of the genius of which they are the bearers.

577 828 775

791 795 The attitude of the Guaraní religion confronted with earthly life is more negative than positive. For the Christian, life on earth offers at least the opportunity of being able to earn heaven, i.e., for the individual to practice virtues upon which will depend his future lot. The Guaraní does not have to earn heaven, as everybody is destined for eternal happiness. There is not tied to it the idea of reward, but simply an ideal that one tries to attain -- and which everybody does attain, if fate is not too adverse for him and if, on the way to the Beyond, his soul does not become a victim of the many dangers that await it on the journey.

791 177 797 /109/ In the face of the fact, certainly unquestionable, that the Guaraní groups of today studied by me contains many elements of Christian origin, both with respect to the doctrine and to the ritual and the accessories of the cult, there is posed a capital problem, which is that of identifying as much as possible the direction and the range of the transformations brought by the missionary work of past centuries. It is of interest to find out to what extent the Jesuit teachings yielded, undergoing reinterpretation in terms of the old tribal doctrine, and to what extent the Jesuits really succeeded, if they succeeded in any lasting

2: Schaden--211 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/164 cont./

The fundamental conception from which the belief in Paradise is derived is aguydjé, which may be translated as happiness, perfection, and victory. Montoya has already given due attention to the conception, at least from the linguistic point of view (8).

8. /From p. 177 of the original source./
Montoya, 1876, Vol. I, pp. 20-22.

For the Guaraní, aguydjé corresponds to the very purpose and objective of human existence. In this sense it is usually conceived concretely as paradisiacal happiness in the supernatural world, which everybody passionately wishes to reach without dying beforehand, and the obtaining of which depends principally on obedience to so many prescriptions, religious, "moral," or simply magical. In its origin, the mythical representation properly speaking is reduced to a kind of Island of Happiness in the middle of the distant ocean, which is reached with the help of a long rope or in some other way, and where death is not known. One attempts to reach this island for a life in spiritual communion with the deities and in order to achieve immortality, but not in order to flee from any imminent catastrophe, contrary to what is noted after the apocalyptic transformation of the myth.

In order to have an idea of the lability inherent in the representation of the Guaraní Paradise, it is sufficient to consider, for example, the variety of denominations that correspond to it. Let us content ourselves with some examples. The Ñandéva consider Paradise the land of the civilizer hero Ñanderykey, designating it as yvý-ñomimbyré. As the translation of this word, I have been given in the village of Bananal the expression "land in which people hide," while at Araribá they translated it as "the hidden land." The first interpretation refers to the place where it is hoped to find refuge on the occasion of the cataclysm, while the second one calls to mind the destruction of the first world in the mythical past, an occasion on which the civilizer hero stole a piece of the crumbling land, taking it to the celestial regions.